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as if it had been another person, that the subject of his book, if he had not played his cards to their best, had had a good hand to start with, and had won some distinct successes with it. It is a manly, straightforward book, written in the best style of a very effective writer, who had shown himself, in his *Dana* especially, a skillful biographer.

The life which the book describes is that of one who served his country well as a young officer in the Civil War, who made a deep mark upon its later history by pioneer work of great intelligence in the governmental regulation of railroads, who rendered valuable service in laying out Boston's park system, who wrote much excellent history, especially for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and who in public affairs, of town, state, or nation, could be counted upon to raise, frequently and with wholesome effect, a clear, candid, pungent, and always independent voice. It is a pity that the government could not have had more use of his unusual powers, or that, in a country having no House of Lords, his qualities were not such as to bring him into some of those high places where he could have served so admirably.

As a contribution to American history the volume suffers somewhat from the fact that Mr. Adams, as president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, had already set forth in print his remembrances and thoughts concerning several of the chief events, mainly of the Civil War period, with which his life had brought him into contact, and these descriptions he does not choose to repeat. But nearly a third of the book is given to the years 1860 and 1861—a summer campaign journey with Seward, a month in Washington, February 18–March 13, 1861 (what month in Washington's history more to be chosen, for such a young man!), and from April to October six months of slow gravitation toward entrance into the army. All this is intensely interesting. In particular, the candid description (aided by a diary, and with plenty of Boston background) of the young man's progress toward the resolve to apply for a commission is as good as anything in the volume, and casts light on a much broader area than that of one life or character.

The autobiography having been finished in March, 1912, Mr. W. C. Ford has added a few pages on the remaining three years of Mr. Adams's life. A memorial address by Senator Lodge is prefixed to the book. There is a good portrait, and the form of the book is in all respects suitable to the biography of a gentleman of distinction, dignity, and good taste.

Notes of a Busy Life. By JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER. In two volumes. (Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company. 1916. Pp. xv, 511; vi, 584.)

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER has been treated by fate less kindly than any of his political associates. Presidents Garfield and McKinley won the martyr's crown. John Sherman was still in public life when physically incapacitated for service; and if he did not achieve the height of

his ambition by becoming President, he wrote his name as a financier under the names of Hamilton and Gallatin. Mr. Taft's star was in the ascendant until after the chief political prize had been won, and he is still a political factor. Mark Hanna's career as a political manipulator was in full swing when death called him. Had Senator Foraker's physical end come before his defeat for re-election to the Senate (made possible by the disclosure by Hearst of relations with the Standard Oil Company as legal adviser), his fame would have been greater. But in that case we should not have had the two bulky volumes wherein are recorded the minute details of political activities that, originating in Ohio, had a predominating influence throughout the country.

Senator Foraker's estimates of men are usually erroneous. Often he extols men of little or no importance; but his mind never met the minds of the other leaders and for this reason his characterizations of them are never sympathetic. He records frequent occasions when he has hewn wood and carried water for the political masters, only to experience their ingratitude. The fact is, they felt that he could not be trusted to play the political game. At the same time he had to be considered, because he represented the discontented element in the party, and political success could be achieved only when that element could be cajoled into supporting the ticket.

The secret of Mr. Foraker's strength lay in his power as an orator. He could move an audience as a great violinist or singer does. He could influence men against their wills and convictions. Yet he was compelling rather than persuasive. When the spell passed, the reaction came. In campaigns his abuse of opponents qualified his usefulness on the stump; and yet he was regarded as a great campaign speaker and was much sought after throughout the country. It is impossible to appreciate Mr. Foraker's oratorical powers from reading the speeches given in the memoirs. They have no literary quality; and their historical or philosophical content is negligible. They are simply impassioned utterances of a speaker moved by his cause and desirous of producing immediate effects. The appeal is to patriotism, to party loyalty, or to the emotions.

The value of the Foraker memoirs, therefore, lies not in their judgments, but rather in their citations from correspondence and contemporary newspapers. And even here the student of history must walk circumspectly. It is essential to know the political equation; for a slight error on one side of the equality sign is apt to produce ludicrously inaccurate results. Politicians have a correspondence language of their own; they use words to conceal thoughts, and protest friendship most when they exercise it least; they rarely commit important matters to paper, preferring a personal interview or a discreet messenger. Their communications relate largely to appointments to office or to securing nominations for themselves or their supporters. They conduct their affairs according to the primitive methods of barter. Bribery, as the outsider

knows it, is uncommon. Friendship, loyalty to class, or to large interests, or to organizations, are controlling motives within party lines. Members of the third parties (who have not the protection afforded by the restraints imposed by regular organizations) are peculiarly liable to be swayed by influences other than the dictates of experience or reason, and thus are subject to manipulation. The politician usually is an opportunist. To him questions of government are decided primarily on the basis of their effect on party success. All statesmen have to be politicians; but all politicians do not become statesmen, even after death.

Mr. Foraker lived and moved and had his being among politicians. His busy life, the varied incidents of which he recounts, was concerned largely with state politics and with national politics in so far as the latter had their roots in Ohio. While the memoirs supply valuable raw material for the political history of the country from Hayes to Wilson, they are valuable chiefly as guide-posts, showing the way to the student's destination. As a record of political morals and the machinery of politics they are unsurpassed.

Mr. Foraker is eminently a "practical" politician. He has no sympathy for idealists, free-traders, professors, or dudes, to use his own classification. Mr. Lodge is ridiculed because of his antipathy to split infinitives; and yet Senator Lodge's speeches already form a considerable part of the political history of the times. The tariff reformers are sneered at; and the idea that offices should not be bestowed as political favors is not entertained for a moment. Yet there are flashes of good nature, of legal acumen, of sympathy for the under dog, all of which go far to account for the devotion of the senator's following. There is also running through the memoirs an admiration for the successful politician, a desire to stand well with the powers that be, and, above all, a longing for justification before posterity—qualities which counter-balance the evident endeavor to punish the author's enemies, dead and alive. Discriminatingly used, the work is an illuminating contribution to the political history of the past forty years.

C. M.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: a Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry. By W. J. A. DONALD, Ph.D. [Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize Essays, vol. XIX.] (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xv, 376.)

THE object of this study of the birth, growth, and present condition of the Canadian iron and steel industry is twofold: in the first place to present the economic history of a particular Canadian industry; in the second place to inquire into the relation between the policy of protection and the growth of iron and steel production, to what extent this policy has been successful, and whether the result has justified the cost.